

PEACE NEWS

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Food now - or future hate

by ROY WALKER

I HAVE been reflecting on the new poster that Arthur Wragg has drawn of a gaunt and hungry child with the ominous warning: "Food Now—or Future Hate." After the first world war Britain and America left defeated Germany without overseas food supplies for nine months, and the result was starvation and distress on a vast scale, an agony which played no small part in the subsequent development of Nazism. In this war the food blockade started where it left off in 1919, cutting off all civilian supplies. This time we starved not Germans but Britain's avowed friends. One human being has as much right as another to sufficient food—but that does not mean that in starving friends Britain was not sinking into a new dimension of deliberate wickedness.

Britain, of course, threw all the blame on the Nazis; some of it indeed rests there, but not all. Ministers solemnly (but none the less erroneously) declared that the occupying power was responsible under international law for feeding the population. To put military necessity and the comfort of the German Home Front first was noonday evidence of the blackguardism of German policy. When liberation came, said an official M.O.I. pamphlet (March, 1943):

"It will be the task of the relief organisation to rush supplies to people who are suffering from starvation and acute malnutrition; to provide the population during the next twelve or eighteen months with the most healthful, satisfying and pleasant diet that can be supplied; and to encourage the local production of the most nutritive foodstuffs."

This, we all thought, was what UNRRA was for; not at all—the initial responsibility is with the military. When the military are ready to hand over control of relief in liberated territory, do they hand over to UNRRA? Not at all—to a civilian authority. Does the civilian authority in Belgium and France call in UNRRA? No, they submit requests to the Combined Boards. Does UNRRA control the Combined Boards? On the contrary the Combined Boards control UNRRA support.

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"I BET YOU £2"

WE have just received an unusual gift from an unexpected source. A certain optimist was arguing with a friend of ours some time ago that the war would end before Christmas. Our friend expressed some doubt on the point, whereupon the optimist wagered £2 that it would all be over by the end of the year. When the time came he duly remembered his rash undertaking and the debt was promptly paid. On Jan. 1 our friend received a cheque for £2 which he immediately passed on to the PPU. We are grateful for this gift which our friend says "came to us by accident."

Yes, the result of a bet is an accident, to bring about which no personal effort has been called for. Whatever our opinion as to the duration of the war we dare not just bet on its ending without doing anything about it. We must go on labouring constructively in the cause of peace to the best of our ability.

Steady support for HQ is an essential part of our peace effort.

MAUD ROWNTREE

CORDER CATCHPOOL

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TIME IS ON THE SIDE OF MISERY

I AM no judge of military events; but it looks as though von Rundstedt's offensive in the Ardennes was brilliantly contrived in the nick of time to save Germany from a colossal simultaneous blow from East and West which might well have been decisive. To have wrested the initiative in the West, as the Germans have, is a mighty asset when they have to deal with such an attack as the Russians are making in the East. If, as I suppose, it can do no more than gain time, in the military sense, in the time gained something may turn up in the political field.

The first fine rapture of liberation is now well over; and the liberated countries are now much more of an embarrassment to Britain and USA than they were before liberation. Now we bear the responsibility for them; and it will not be long before all their sufferings will be put to our account.

If the war is prolonged for another year—and no one seems to anticipate much less—it may well be that the United Nations will be only a little less hated than the Germans on the continent of Europe. And who can say confidently that there will not be open political dissensions among them? The Germans have nothing to lose, and they may have something to gain, by prolonging their defence to the uttermost. Mr. Churchill may assure them this calculation is stupid. I cannot but think it is shrewd. If they can defend themselves within the Reich for a year or more, and leave Europe to go bad on us, they may save a good deal more than Stalin and Churchill will ever give them.

Chaos in France

SOME idea of the misery of Europe can be gained from the hardships from which France is now suffering. Owing to the speed with which the tide of battle flowed over France in 1940, and back again in 1944, the material devastation was relatively small, compared to that wrought in Italy, which has been, metaphorically speaking, slowly and systematically ground to powder. Nevertheless, though relatively small, the material destruction has been tremendous.

But far more serious than this has been the more or less complete dislocation of the economic life of France. At the present moment in Paris, we are told, there are 400,000 unemployed; and we may suppose the figure is proportionate in the other industrial centres of France. Employed or unemployed, the worker who can-

not afford the fantastic prices of the black market, has to exist on an official ration that is roughly one-third of the British. Poorly clothed, he shivers with cold—and how bitter a severe winter in France can be! Yet France is, by comparison, fortunate. There is some sort of political order, however precarious; there is a generally accepted Head of the State.

Incredible suffering

IN Greece there is chaos; in Italy universal apathy. Everywhere there is undernourishment and misery of a kind which we, the inhabitants

Observer's Commentary

of the fortunate isles, have no conception; still less the inhabitants of that material paradise, the United States. Even the German prisoner of war in France, in American or British hands, fares sumptuously compared to the native population. And the supplies which are lavished on the American and British troops seem fabulous beside their starvation.

These are the brute human facts of the war in Western Europe. Of the war in the East, save in the small regions on which the vivid spotlight of Anglo-American publicity is directed, we know nothing at all. Over the territories liberated by the Russians a pall of silence and darkness descends. One may reasonably suppose that the Red Armies are to the utmost possible extent "living off the country," as the Napoleonic armies used to do. What added misery that entails, no one can compute.

Yet no statesman of the United Nations, reviewing the war-situation, ever glances at this fundamental misery. The sufferings of the common man do not come into their picture. Nor can it be said that the

minor politicians are much better than the great ones. The House of Commons will debate, with passion and half-knowledge the political issue of peoples whose miseries make them incapable of politics: but to the universal suffering it pays no heed.

Reluctant Stalin

IN spite of scepticism it had lately come to be assumed by the Press that the long delayed meeting between Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin was actually going to take place in the very near future. But Eden's reference to it in his speech of Jan. 20 seems almost cynical.

"The issue of the machinery of collaboration would certainly be among those which would have to be examined at the meeting which rumour had it—he did not know—was to be held at sometime or other somewhere or other."

It may possibly have been intended to convey that the meeting was to be very, very secret indeed. But in view of Churchill's and Eden's previous references to the meeting as a desired but unattainable good, I take it as meaning that even now nothing is settled. Since Roosevelt has indicated his readiness, the reluctance comes from Stalin. Indeed, from what appears to be his point of view, he has nothing to gain. By avoiding it, he can continue to go his uninterrupted and unilluminated way.

About that way of his, one thing is fairly clear. It is more uncompromisingly one-sided and anti-democratic in countries which are the allies of Britain than it is in others. In Poland there is no pretence at all of seeking the consent of the Poles to their new government; in Yugoslavia little more. There, by endorsing the Russian policy of "all power to Tito" and rebuffing the King, Churchill is once more compelled into a morally ignominious position. It was to the royal government of Yugoslavia that he addressed his not yet forgotten words about a nation that "had saved its soul." Now the soul-savers are roughly thrust aside, in spite of the fact that the King is only demanding that to Yugoslavia should be applied the same policy as Churchill says he is applying, as manifest justice, to Greece: free elections to discover the will of the people.

Elsewhere—in Rumania, Bulgaria and Hungary—Russian policy is frankly opportunist. Any kind of government will serve. Where Britain is morally involved, Russian policy supports the extreme Left. It is difficult to believe that the effect is not calculated: to use the revolutionary Left to destroy the moral

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A reply to the Archbishop of York

IS GERMANY PENITENT?

In his Presidential Address to the Convocation of York on Oct. 12, 1944, the Archbishop of York, dealing with the future of Germany, spoke thus: "So far from Germany there has come no voice of penitence. There must be repentance before there is forgiveness, though the Christian must do his utmost to encourage and to welcome it."

The following documented reply to this statement has been sent to the religious Press, largely without response. This unsuccessful attempt to get it published elsewhere is responsible for the fact that it has not appeared earlier in Peace News.

WITHOUT entering into a discussion of the theological question as to how far repentance should be a condition of forgiveness, one may question the correctness of the statement that no voice of penitence has come. The Address was reprinted in the weekly Bulletin of the Ministry of Information, The Spiritual Issues of the War, No. 259; and the editors (perhaps significantly?) followed it up with "A Statement by the German Confessional Church" of May, 1944, i.e. one made before the Second Front had been opened and Germany reduced to her present predicament.

"The contempt of God and His commandments in our nation and our Church," this statement says, "burdens us with an alarming increase of guilt and distress." And beginning one paragraph after the other with a "Woe unto us and our nation," they accuse in unambiguous language themselves and their people of one

sin after the other, rounding off each section with one of the Ten Commandments:

"Woe to us and to our nation if, instead of giving honour to God, we exalt human ideas above God and extol the powers of this world as though they were all-powerful. For God says: 'I am the Lord thy God. . . Thou shalt have no other Gods but me.' . . . 'Woe unto us and our nation when we make little of the life that God has given, and man, whom God created in His image, is only assessed as to his utility; when it is considered right to take life because human beings are considered as of no value. OR BECAUSE THEY BELONG TO ANOTHER RACE, when hatred and cruelty are the order of the day. For God says: 'Thou shalt not kill.'"

We cannot quote here each of the ten confessions of sin. But who could, when reading them, have any doubt of the deep repentance eating the hearts of the men who drafted them? Though using a carefully worded, theological language, which is made necessary by the political conditions in Germany and which occurs similarly in the utterances of the churches in occupied Europe, their indictment of the murder of people "because they belong to another race" should satisfy those of us who have been waiting for a sign of protest on behalf of the German people for the massacre of Poles, Jews, etc.

Their statement, however, is far from unique. The sermons of the Roman Catholic Bishop of Munster are well known, and the Pastoral Letter of the Bishop of Freiburg for Lent, 1944, is no less a confession of sin.

But the churchmen are not the only ones who feel shame for German misdeeds and their own responsibility in

corporate sinfulness: a few months ago an article in The Times proved how many German soldiers are convinced that German guilt is by far too great ever to be forgiven; and from neutral sources we hear of the many cases of suicide and nervous breakdown, even among the SS of those who "can't stand it any longer because they see nothing but blood in their dreams." It is this sense of guilt that the unscrupulous Nazi leaders make use of in order to keep in the front line those who have thus despaired of forgiveness and can only await the catastrophic and inevitable punishment of the nation.

On the other hand, German prisoners of war in this country, who are not at all friendly towards Hitler, strongly contest that any atrocities of gruesome magnitude have ever been committed by German troops and attribute those stories entirely to Allied Propaganda. This belief gives evidence that a large section of the German nation are even now not aware of the crimes committed on their behalf; and it is premature to expect confessions of sin from people who don't know how much has been sinned in their name.

But there seems to be little doubt that, from those who do know, voices of penitence have come. If they are not "encouraged and welcomed" in this country, or not even heard, may it not be because we Christians here are sometimes too hard of hearing?

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All letters on other than editorial matters
should be addressed to the Manager

VICE VERSA

MR. CHURCHILL in his speech of January 18, moved perhaps by the pertinent question previously addressed to him by Mr. Rhys Davies, spoke more fully on the matter of "unconditional surrender" than he has done before.

"We may now say to our foes: 'We demand unconditional surrender, but you will know how strict are the moral limits within which our action is confined. We are no extirpaters of nations, or butchers of peoples. We make no bargain with you. We accord you nothing as a right. Abandon your resistance unconditionally. We remain bound by our customs and our nature.'"

And again:

"We, the allies, are no monsters, but faithful men trying to carry forward the light of the world, trying to raise from the bloody welter and confusion in which mankind is now plunged a structure of peace, of freedom, of justice and of law, which system shall be an abiding shelter for all."

We will not dispute Mr. Churchill's good faith in making these pronouncements. But we must ask how they will sound in the ears of those to whom they are addressed.

The average German knows, much better than the average Englishman, what treatment the United Nations intend to inflict on the German people. Goebbels in the last few months has not had to call upon his powers of invention. He has needed only to put together the various statements of the allied authorities, and in particular of Mr. Churchill himself. Ten million Germans are to be driven out of their ancestral homes in the east of the Reich. The strict moral limits within which the United Nations are bound are elastic enough to include treatment of a severity unprecedented in the history of modern Europe. When, in the latter part of the 18th century, Russia, Prussia and Austria partitioned Poland, they did not drive out the inhabitants from the territories they seized. Yet that partition was reckoned by common consent the greatest political crime of that age.

Suppose Hitler, at the time of the collapse of France, had spoken thus to the British nation.

"I am no monster. I have done what I have done in order to achieve the unity and security of a fatally divided Europe. The danger is that the islands of Great Britain may be used as an outpost for the aggression of other powers who, like Great Britain, have an interest in keeping Europe divided against itself. Against that menace I must protect the security of united Europe. I can do it only by handing over the southern counties of England to a free and independent France. In order to do this effectively, I propose to transfer the population of Kent, Sussex and Hampshire to the regions north of the Thames, and to replace them by Frenchmen."

"I am a faithful man, trying to raise from the bloody confusion in which mankind is now plunged a structure of peace, of freedom, of justice and of law, which system shall be an abiding shelter for all. The necessary foundation is the peace and security of Europe. There is no other way of assuring it."

The reaction of Englishmen to such a pronouncement would have been one, first, of shocked incredulity. The man who proposed to drive the English population out of Kent, Hitler was serious, they would have Sussex and Hampshire must be mad. Then, as they came to realize that been seized by a passion of indignation at his hypocrisy. That he should talk of the strict moral limits within which his conduct was bound, while at the same time proposing this infamous barbarity! No, they would say, there is nothing for it. We must fight on to the bitter end. There can be no hope of spiritual recovery for a nation which surrenders to such a destiny.

And that we are convinced, will be the reaction of the average German, who though he may curse Hitler and Himmler yet loves his own country, to the noble-sounding words of Mr. Churchill. He may say to them, as he does: "If you surrender now, nothing that you will have to endure after the war will be comparable with what you are otherwise going to suffer during 1945." It will be as barren of result as were Hitler's own threats to Britain in 1940.

There is this difference, too. Hitler's offer to Britain in those days was generosity itself compared to what Churchill offers Germany today. Hitler may or may not have meant it. But every German knows what Churchill means. They will be no less brave than Englishmen, in what will seem to them as good a cause.

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INDIA: a study in British Fascism

SOON after I reached England a few weeks ago I happened to read an extraordinarily outspoken article in The Times on conditions prevailing in the Middle East. The writer, a correspondent on the spot, was obviously worried about the administration out there—so much so that he went to the extent of saying: "For a Great Power to be forced into military action to maintain its authority is an open confession that its moral influence has been undermined."

If that is true of Palestine and other British occupied countries of the Middle East it is equally true of India. Britain's moral influence in India is nil. Even Gandhi, who has done so much during the last 25 years to prevent Indian nationalism slipping into the rut of race-war, has utterly failed during the last two years to convince his followers that Britain will eventually yield to India's demand, on grounds of human justice, that imperialism be wiped off between the two countries and power transferred from Whitehall to the Indian people. The majority of Indians today are impatient of Gandhi's programme of sweet reasonableness and non-violent mass action and are itching for more vigorous direct action.

Distrust of Britain

Significant of this new attitude is the fact that in the majority of nationalist families I knew in India the grandparents and parents were strict followers of Gandhi, while the members of the present generation were distinctly socialist in outlook and more bitterly anti-British. Among the latter the line taken is: "The British people profess to be democratic and to be fighting for the destruction of Fascism. They are not democratic because we see how they rule us and how even their working-class soldiers behave towards us over here; they are not fighting for the destruction of Fascism but only for the destruction of rival imperialisms—German and Japanese. We have no desire to be ruled by Germans or Japanese—nor by British. We distrust them all."

THIS distrust is bred of frustration and resentment. During the last three years, the Indian people have been browbeaten into a war effort which not one in ten thousand supports. The large number of illiterate peasants that fill out the returns of recruits the Government is so proud of showing to the world, are men forced by the wretched poverty of the countryside to join up in order to keep their families alive. The Indian Army, as Roosevelt's special Representative, William Phillips, wrote in his celebrated letter, is a mercenary Army carefully guarded against any infiltration of nationalist ideas.

I have spoken to hundreds of these men while they were travelling in trains—and I found most of them had not the slightest idea of what the war was about. Once a batch about to embark for the Middle East told me they thought they were going to fight Russia! When I laughed at this they laughed too, and said: "Russia, France, Germany—what you will. We get money."

Educated Indians who have joined the Services and taken war jobs do so in much the same spirit. Recruiting posters are the joke of the day in India. They run something like this: "Here's Your Chance! Earn a good wage. Learn a trade. Defend your Country." Many of those in desperate need take the hint... and keep their tongues in their cheeks. This frustration breeds a bitterness which is all the deeper for being unexpressed.

To understand how deep this is, one needs to have lived in India since August, 1942, and—most important—to have lived and worked along with Indians. Ever since Cripps returned to England and began indulging in anti-Congress speeches, all Indian nationalist and Socialist parties had felt that agreement with Britain had become impossible. In spite of their

support for the struggle against Fascism in Europe, the discriminating manner in which Indians were treated in the frightful trek from Burma (when Indians were forced to take a longer road than the Europeans), had roused resentment against Britain to fever-pitch.

How crisis came

The August Resolution in 1942 was the last desperate attempt of Gandhi and Nehru to reach an agreement with Britain before that resentment should find expression. The attempt failed. Only a few hours after the passing of the resolution the Government of India had arrested the Congress leaders and thousands of the rank and file. In protest, tens of thousands struck, marched in procession, showed defiance in any way they knew.

Mass arrests followed, and then it appeared that the Government of India was given an order similar to that which Churchill gave to General Scobie in Greece—"Restore order by any means necessary." Mobs were fired on, prisoners tortured into giving evidence, houses were searched, all the files of Gandhi's famous paper Harijan were destroyed, barricades were erected in the streets of Delhi and British Tommies drove between them in tanks, planes were called out in some "difficult" areas.

As news of these acts spread outwards from the towns to the villages, the peasants came out and showed defiance too. In some places they came in such numbers that the Government officials fled in terror before them: police stations were occupied, railway stations were burnt down.

MEANWHILE, in Bombay and elsewhere all over India, Congress men and women who had evaded arrest formed hurriedly into a council of action resolved on a programme aimed at paralysing the British administration—which in fact was achieved temporarily in Bihar, parts of Bengal and Orissa. This underground movement was not a terrorist movement, though it included Congressmen who were not absolute pacifists.

I managed somehow to meet most of these men and women when they were working underground. Most of them are Congress fighters who participated in the struggle of 1931 but who now believe that the Congress as a whole represents the will to freedom of millions besides those who follow Gandhi in all the details of

Margaret Pope,
the author, has recently returned from India where she met members of the nationalist "underground" movement. She writes with the authority of one who has lived in India all through the critical period that followed the Government's decision in August, 1942, to suppress the Congress movement.

his teaching on non-violence. Therefore an illegal Congress organization—printing pamphlets, broadcasting news and talks, cutting communications and blocking roads and railways—was maintained till very recently, when most of the leaders were finally arrested.

It is significant that Gandhi has not criticized this movement and did not urge the underground Congress workers to give themselves up to the police until about three months after his release from jail this year. In any case, as Jaya Prakash Narayan (leader of the Congress Socialist Party, who was commended by Gandhi in the latter's letter to the Viceroy last year) wrote: "Those who prepared the programme have never disowned the responsibility and when the time comes, they will no doubt appear before the tribunal of the Congress and receive its commendation for having discharged their duty at a most critical moment."

Conditions now

At present there is practically no political life in the country at all. The Muslim League does its utmost to draw in Muslims to the idea of a divided India but the fact that the League is prepared to put partition before national independence keeps thousands of Muslims out of the League. All other political parties, save the insignificant Radical Democrat Party (a stooge of the British Government led by an ex-Comintern agent, M. N. Roy), continue to demand immediate release of all imprisoned leaders and political detainees. Even the mild Liberal Sapru Committee, which is now discussing the future constitution of India, makes the same demand and protests against the Governors' use of their absolute powers in the Provinces, the renewed recruitment of British army men into the Indian Civil Service (a plan instituted just a few months ago) and the failure to give effect to the pledges about self-government after the war.

These are some of the effects of the last three years of British rule. There are others: the complete collapse of India's economy resulting in inflation and famine, the suffering and misery resulting from broken families whose husbands or mothers are jailed, the thoroughly rotten civil administration composed of men—British or Indian—whose aim is power at a price while the going is good. Worst of all is the imprisonment of India's greatest socialist, Jawaharlal Nehru, and the continued suppression of a movement which more than any other expresses the will of the Indian people. I say from what I have observed and experienced: the Government of India is as near to a fascist government as anything the British have created yet—either in Europe or Asia.

Last spring while still a prisoner, Gandhi wrote to Wavell: "The Government are pursuing a policy of suppression of liberty and truth. The latest ordinance against the detenus recalls the Rowlett Act of 1919 which was popularly called the Black Act. That Act pales into insignificance beside the series of ordinances that are being showered from the Viceroy's throne. Martial law in effect governs not one Province as in 1919, but the whole of India. Things are moving from bad to worse."

LETTERS

Something to learn from Max Plowman

Your article on Max Plowman had come at the right moment. So many of us in the PPU must be finding his "Letters" the bread of life in these days of the famine of love, and you have drawn us together into a unity of new understanding of Max and provided the living link.

And the thought comes to me: Are we in our movement sufficiently ready to accept what we are able to give to one another, and to learn from those among us who have travelled farther along the road of experience of life and understanding of truth than we ourselves? Are we more concerned about the need to grow in spirit than about passing resolutions or votes of censure? Have we that regard for each other's integrity which Max had? Do we value true leadership, even when such leadership comes from those whose intellectual conceptions of pacifism differ in some ways from our own, or do we sometimes persecute our prophets?

"Max was a man of faith." We do not want to sit at his feet and accept opinions from him which would only be relevant and valid for us if they had grown out of our own experience. We do need the contagion of his faith, and above all of his faith in love.

There is a passage in "Adam and Eve" which has stayed in my mind (I have not the exact words) and which stresses our need for a society of love. Shall we not try to make the PPU a pattern of such a society?

We seem sometimes to be afraid of tenderness in our contacts with one another, afraid perhaps of being thought unrealistic, or soft. If we are sensitive enough to learn from him, Max can teach us better. If we are willing to allow it to happen, this publication of his letters, because they make the essential beauty of the man available for each one of us, might mark the beginning of a new chapter in the life of our movement. Max might indeed become a new bond of unity between us.

WINIFRED RAWLINS
15 Shrublands Rd., Berkhamsted, Herts.

The insurrection of Greece

I would gladly agree that the Paris police are no less fascist than the police of Athens if that would make for reconciliation with "Observer." But my point (against which, incidentally, both "Observer" and your leader writer appear to have closed their minds) is that no useful analogy can be drawn between Greece, where Britain has made herself directly responsible for internal order, and France or any other country where British influence is limited.

"Observer" asks for solid facts. I sympathize with him. This correspondence began because he arrived at conclusions about Greece which ran contrary to those of practically every British paper, including those which normally support the Government. Only the Telegraph was on his side, and he quoted from it. My scepticism was, I should have thought, excusable.

I have not, as far as I know, referred to the insurrection as a spontaneous manifestation of Greek democracy. I do not believe there is such a thing as Greek democracy. I have pleaded that British arms should not be used to maintain the status quo. I should have thought that even "Observer" had his doubts about the status quo. I should have thought that even he would have had a sneaking admiration for those who made sacrifices in the fight against fascism, while whole groups of politicians found it easy to change their allegiance.

Apparently "Observer" has never experienced this admiration. Neither has your leader writer. That is what makes me uncomfortable. Peace News is already run by ghosts. The deaths occurred some time before 1935. I get considerably more inspiration from some of the men who were killed in the 'front line of battle.' Perhaps that is because they knew that the only thing that could save Europe was an insurrection of the common people. I suspect that Peace News doesn't believe in the common people. That is why I cannot believe in Peace News.

DONALD FORBES
21 Bloomsbury Sq., W.C.1.

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FIND power writing lessons Matthe London

JUST TALK!

"... Not until one or two people came to our meeting who were not up to the standard of our study course on economics did we realize that we had been having the wrong kind of discussions for a PPU group. Our previous courses on British history and primitive religions had been interesting for those of us who like that kind of thing, but they may well have kept other members away. In addition, we had lost the chance of making our contribution to the local WEA class.

"We couldn't think why we had not realized before that we were mixing up two distinct jobs. Our education for citizenship ought to have been done as citizens, with the proper organizations, where we could also have made our pacifist contribution. In our group we should have been talking about our job as PPU mem-

"I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER."

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Further information from: General Secretary, PPU, Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

bers living in a non-pacifist community—our discussions ought to have been related to our PPU work.

"Not until we wanted to get on with the local organization of the NPC Petition Campaign did we realize how inadequate our group preparation had been. On the purely practical questions of what local organizations we could approach, who were the sympathetic ministers of religion, what halls were available for meetings and at what prices, we realized we were remarkably ignorant. On more fundamental questions connected with the wording of the petition—or the problem of whether we should spend a lot of our time working for a non-pacifist objective—we had spent very little time at all.

"It seemed to us then that even the nearby Pacifist Service Unit had undertaken more pacifist study than we had, in as far as its members had been faced constantly with the task of relating their pacifism to the everyday problems of society. So we made a new start on the planning of our program, incidentally picking up some useful hints and suggestions from the PPU handbook 'Education for Peace.' Our discussions are now a good deal less high-falutin' than they were—more 'bread and butter' is the phrase that we use. Our conclusions are tested by the propaganda that we are doing and our evening assistance to the Pacifist Service Unit. We now realize very clearly that pacifist study which doesn't have its influence on our work in society is 'just talk'..."

* * * Those who have suggestions or comments to offer on PPU Study—or questions to be answered—should write to the Development Secretary, Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

*"Education for Peace," by Roy Walker, 6d.

"E.A.M. leaders and Churchill share the blame"

From a correspondent

FROM the tangled skein of recent events in Greece a few plain threads can now be unravelled.

First, there is and has been a very real distinction between EAM, a coalition of communist, socialist, democratic or less to a pre-war Popular Front, and ELAS, an organized fighting force in which the Communists were predominant. This distinction between EAM and ELAS is of crucial importance. EAM was, by constitution and intention, a democratic political association; ELAS a revolutionary army, controlled by the least democratic of the constituent bodies of EAM, and pursuing the familiar Communist aim of seizing the power of the State by force. For it civil war was a necessary and desirable condition.

Intentions of EAM

EAM had agreed to form an all-party government under Papandreou. The inclusion of EAM representatives in the government had been pressed by Britain. Very foolishly, and almost certainly under pressure from the Communists, the EAM representatives—three of whom were Communists—left the government when it sought to disarm the irregular forces.

If, as seems to have been the case, strong influences in ELAS contemplated civil war, one may wonder why this break did not come earlier, before the British forces and the Mountain Brigade were established in Greece. It may be that the determinant was the certain loss of non-Communist support in EAM if ELAS had not even appeared willing to work with the Papandreou government. Only full information of Cabinet discussions before the break could show how far a co-operative policy was genuinely attempted.

There is the same difficulty in judging how real the danger was that the all-party government would be used as a façade behind which power would have been seized by the Royalists. But it is hard to believe that the fullest attempt at co-operation was made by EAM. Instead, it allowed itself to be rushed into acquiescing in a revolutionary coup and so giving control over to the Communists.

real distinction between EAM, a coalition of communist, socialist, democratic and liberal parties, corresponding more

That the situation bristled with difficulties is undeniable; or that the British influence, owing to past policy, was too closely identified with the Greek monarchy to be regarded as completely impartial. But it is difficult to see how the British could have acted in the main otherwise than as they did, without appearing to interfere even more drastically in Greek internal politics.

The real obstacles to a peaceful solution lay in the past—in the internecine feuds which have been the staple of Greek political history ever since its independence was achieved. Democratic and republican government in Greece has been just as arbitrary as Royalist and Fascist government.

Even before the war there did not exist any tradition of stable democratic government in Greece. In the interregnum of German occupation, when the Germans worked hard and successfully to set the resistance movements at each other's throats, the situation went from bad to worse.

A possible alternative

Probably the best of practicable solutions was a much more active intervention by the British, determined to disarm both sides, and to supervise genuine elections. But this would have involved the employment of a still greater military force, and it might also have aroused a national resistance to such tutelage. As things are now, the spirit of faction already fierce has been exacerbated, and it will be little less than a miracle if stability is achieved.

On the whole, the finding is that the proximate cause of the immense deterioration of the Greek situation is the failure of the political leaders of EAM to act with courage and responsibility and to refuse to be stampeded by the Communists; but the primary cause is the decision of Mr. Churchill indiscriminately to arm all the elements in the Greek population who were ready "to kill Huns." That was, in the known circumstances of Greece, an invitation to anarchy.

1944 AUTUMN APPEAL

We are glad to report, with much gratitude to all who have contributed, that the PPU Autumn Appeal for 1944 amounted to £1,045 19s. 9d.

MAUD ROWNTREE

CORDER CATCHPOOL

Joint Treasurers

WHAT KIND OF PEACE FOR JAPAN?

East and West disagree

By WILFRED WELLOCK

IT is significant from more points of view than one that the British Press has been largely silent about the conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations which took place at Hot Springs, USA, Jan. 5/7. The following is from a Reuter report:

"An apparent split of opinion among delegates (who attended from all the important geographical units of the Pacific) developed today (Jan. 7) on the question of 'how to deal with Japan after the war'.

"During a three-day round-table discussion which ended today, delegates of 12 nations bordering on the Pacific became sharply divided on whether to crush Japan's economy completely and her ability to make war or to admit the Japanese people as fully-fledged members of a Far Eastern bloc of nations.

"The first group, headed by certain specialists from western countries, favoured the complete military and economic disarmament of Japan, and the establishment of a 'collaborationist' Regent—possibly Prince Chichibu or Prince Konoye—to take the place of Emperor Hirohito without completely abolishing the Emperor Constitution of 1889.

"The Eastern group, headed by the Indians and Chinese, advocated 'very mild peace terms for Japan'. The Japanese, the group insisted, should be given economic, political and cultural equality with all peoples in the Far East.

"An Indian delegate, Mr. Siddiqui, told reporters today: 'There should not even be an occupation of Japan after her defeat. We tried that in the last war and failed... The Big Three want to remove Japan from world markets, but the submergence of Japan would be the biggest aggression of all'.

"Mr. Siddiqui said he and a large number of Far Eastern experts favoured a plan whereby any occupation should be carried out not by Britain or the United States but by an international authority which would take control of the Philippines, Java, Siam, Indo-China, and Korea.

"The Indians insisted that this attitude should be made clear to the Japanese people through Allied psychological warfare methods, because this would tend to shorten the war.

"According to a conference official, the Indians and Chinese maintained that recent Japanese propaganda stressing 'Asiatic solidarity' had made great headway in occupied territories throughout the Far East..."

The clash between the eastern and western points of view regarding the eastern peace settlement merits close attention.

An article on the Burma war in the Daily Herald, Jan. 15, by Arthur Helliwell declares:

"There are none of the sweets of 'Liberation' for soldiers of General Bill Slim's Fourteenth Army... only a few Burmese staring as inscrutably as the jade Buddhas they worship. I rode into Rome over a carpet of rose petals with Giuseppina's arm around my waist. I rode into Kalewa over a carpet of ashes, and there were only two dead elephants to greet us."

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WILL ANYONE kindly give children's books for Junior Clubs' Library, ages 7-14? Manor Farm Community Centre, Bilborough, Nottingham.

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QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Rd., London, N.W.1.

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FREE BOOKLET entitled "Christ, the Communist," together with Price List of Books on Prophecy, Theology, Christian Communism, 24d. Kingdom Movement, 21 Poplar Grove, New Malden.

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WANTED TO PURCHASE 3 book "Falsehood in Wartime" by Lord Ponsonby, and "The Rebel." Urgently required, full prices paid. Osborne Up-Over Croyde, N. Devon.

"FALSEHOOD IN WAR" No. 18 "U.P.C. Fact Service" is now available. Price 1d. 50 for 3s., 100 for 5s. United Peace Campaign, 48 Dunda St., Glasgow, C.1.

BOOK-COLLECTORS, and miscellaneous readers, apply for No. 5 List just issuing, 2d. T. H. Treadwell, 137 Vaughan Rd., Harrow-on-the-Hill.

MEETINGS, etc.

LONDON AREA P.P.U. "What kind of peace?" Series of meetings will be held on this subject in Hyde Park, Sundays, 3 p.m.

LONDON FORUM. Director, Frederick Lohr. Public lecture: W. W. Couper "Logos and Memory." 7.15 p.m., Mon., Jan. 29, 8 Endsleigh Gdns., W.C.1.

BOURNEMOUTH Post-War Reconstruction Group, 5 Wellington Road, Feb. 2, 7.30 p.m. Roger Wilson: "America and the Future."

HODDESDON. Movement towards a Pacifist Church. Service for Worship, Friends' Hall, Lord St., Sun., Jan. 28, 6.30 p.m. Leader: Alban Little.

NORTHAMPTON BREAKFAST: Sun., Feb. 4. Margaret Pope (recently returned from India): "India under Martial Law." N.B. Dr. Donald Soper holds an informal gathering of pacifists Monday next (Jan. 29), Kingsley Park Methodist Chapel, 6.15-7.10, followed by public meeting; all pacifists welcome.

NORTHAMPTON. Bedfordshire Huntingdonshire P.P.U. members invited to the first gathering of the South Midlands Area with Dr. Alex Wood. Feb. 3, 3 to 6 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Woburn Sands. Trains, change at Blechley. Buses from Bedford and Leighton Buzzard.

BRISTOL F.o.R. Monthly meeting, Feb. 1. Friends' Meeting House, Quaker Friars. Subject, "The Christian Treatment of Germany after the War." Speaker, Arnold Longman.

THE OUTLOOK for the Peace. H. N. Brailsford opens the new series of lunch-hour addresses at the Kingsway Hall, W.C.2, on Fri., Feb. 2, at 1.10 p.m. Admission free. Full particulars from National Peace Council, 144 Southampton Row, London, W.C.1.

TOWARDS WORLD RECOVERY Eight public lectures on the functions of international agencies (I.L.O., U.N. R.E.A., etc.). Livingstone Hall Broadway, Westminster, S.W.1. Tuesdays, Feb. 6 onwards, at 5 p.m. Speakers will include: C. W. Jenk P. W. Martin, G. D. H. Cole, Prof. A. G. B. Fisher, E. F. Schumacher, E. C. Gordon England and Rev. Ronald Allen.

WOMEN PEACEMAKERS Speaker: Mrs. Duncan Harris, JP at Bloomsbury House, Bloomsbury St. W.C.1, Sat., Feb. 10, at 3 p.m. Arranged by Methodist Peace Fellowship (Women's Group) and Women's International League.

A PACIFIST SOCIAL will be held on Sat., Feb. 3, at 3.30 p.m., at a Friends' Meeting House, 25 London Rd., High Wycombe. All welcome.

PERSONAL

YOU will find true friendship in the L. and H.C. Correspondence Club. Send s.a.e. for particulars to Secretary, L. and H.C.C.C., 39 Reighton Rd., London, E.6.

THANKS to all readers who sent gifts to village children. D. R. Gray, "Shawthorne," Whitestone, nr. Exeter. J. NORMAN WOOD of Eccles and Evelyn M. Day of Urmoston have pleasure in announcing their recent engagement.

WATSON. On Jan. 17 to Julia and David Watson, of 14 Lawn Avenue, Doncaster, the gift of a son—Barry.

SITUATIONS VACANT

It is impossible to confirm satisfactory conditions of employment in all posts advertised in Peace News. Applicants in doubt are recommended to consult the Central Board for C.O.s, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1, which will often be able to give useful advice.

CO-OPERATIVE THEATRICAL COMPANY requires Tours Manager. Previous experience essential. Compass Players, 27 Wilton Court, N.10. KINGSWOOD SCHOOL, GLOSSOP. DBYS. Resident Master or Mistress for Physics and Chemistry (S.C. and H.S.C.). Resident Master or Mistress for French and Latin.

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ARTIST-SMALLHOLDER NEEDS girl gardener and assistant. £2 10 p.w. room and produce. Child welcome. Windmill, Hullbridge, Essex.

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WELFARE ORGANIZATION requires man able to operate cinema projector and drive car to visit P.O.W. camps. Details from C.B.C.O. Employment Section, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

WANTED: Secretary to P.P.U. Service Committee. Particulars on application to Gen. Sec., P.P.U., 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

TEACHER (man) required summer term, elementary Latin and games; also woman for class of seven year olds. Both posts resident. Good salaries. Preparatory School, Kenilworth Road, Coventry.

ASSISTANT REQUIRED at Pacifist-run East London Rest Centre. Living accommodation can be provided. Box 801.

WANTED PART-TIME visiting tutor for Classics. The Belkane School, Shaw, Melksham, Wilts.

SITUATIONS AND WORK WANTED FORESTRY, preferably selling, any locality, required by C.O. 3 years' varied land experience; please give details working conditions, probable duration, possibilities accommodation. Box 794.

TYPEWRITING EFFICIENTLY EXECUTED and promptly returned. Send MSS. to Hilda Castle, 40 Cloonmore Avenue, Orpington.

C.B.C.O. EMPLOYMENT SECTION would be glad to hear of farm vacancies, particularly those where cottages are available for families. Details to 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

C.O., 24, MARRIED, without children, seeks interesting land work with accommodation. Some experience: South, South-West or West preferred. R. Trevelyan, 76 Maynard Rd., Walthamstow, London, E.17.

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MISCELLANEOUS ALLYSOL—SEND stamps 5d. for two 20-page booklets of life-conserving information about garlic: (1) a herbal remedy with 5,000 years of history; (2) Rheumatism and Catarrh dissolved at their root. Allysol Company, Fairlight, Sussex.

Food relief campaign winds up with a song

"I HOLD that it is possible to be a gentle man and yet to be of tough moral fibre," said Michael Tippett to the Farewell Concert audience of the PPU Food Relief Campaign on Saturday last. In his introductory speech Tippett examined the paradox of pacifist campaigning on moral issues. They, who were well fed, could still effectively urge famine relief, as Whitman, clean and tidy, could minister to the wounded in the squalor and dirt of the American Civil War hospitals. The end of the Campaign was an occasion for joy.

Vera Brittain, in her interval speech, paid tribute to the devoted work of Roy Walker, who had been the mainstay of the Campaign throughout its four years of activity. It had been a task of creating imagination, and, judged by results, it had some success. This had been essentially pacifist work, for it was inspired by a vision of Europe as it might be, and had sought to fashion good relationships for our joint future. It was not strange that such a galaxy of artistic talent had thrown its weight into the campaign. Each of us was "A Child of our Time," and if we were to interpret our time or make a contribution to its future we had all, to some extent, to be conscious of its agony.

In addition to Michael Tippett, eminent pacifist musicians, Peter Pears and Benjamin Britten sustained the programme. Their performance delighted the audience, and only concern for Peter Pears' voice—he was singing in Sadler's Wells Opera later that day—prevented his hearers from insisting on a third encore.

Dr. Alex Wood, in winding up proceedings, thought that Food Relief was an example of *plus ça change*. The separate campaign had ended, but the need was no less and the work would go on in its new setting and amid new opportunities.

The Food Relief Campaign has distributed the £100 which it had held in reserve for direct relief when that became feasible, equally between: I.V.S.P., Pacifist Service Units, Friends Relief Service and a Jewish relief agency to be nominated by Victor Gollancz.

With reference to the despatch of actual food to France (PN, Jan. 19), the *Ent'aide Française* announce that they are not able to address parcels to specified individuals.

THANK YOU!

To the Editor

Now that the Food Relief Campaign has ended its existence as a separate organisation, I should like to express our sincere thanks to the members, both pacifist and non-pacifist, of mixed committees throughout the country who have so loyally supported our work. We are especially indebted to those who wrote letters to their local newspapers, and thus helped to publicize our objects and circulate our literature.

The conduct of the Campaign has been marked throughout by most harmonious relations between all concerned, and for this, as its Chairman, I am particularly grateful.

VERA BRITAIN

The double voice of the Soviet

'OBSERVER' CONTINUED

prestige of Britain in the countries where it exists, while accepting any political compromise where it does not.

Rub of the bear's paw

AT the same time, Russia displays a warning flash of the red light to Czechoslovakia. The complex and convenient apparatus of the autonomous constituent republics of the USSR with "independent" foreign policies, is brought into operation. Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia was part of Czechoslovak territory, grabbed by Hungary, which Stalin undertook to restore to Czechoslovakia when he guaranteed her pre-Munich frontiers. Now Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia has "demanded" to be incorporated in USSR, and the matter is referred to the Ukraine government at Kiev, while Moscow publicly washes its hands of the business.

That is a nasty rub of the bear's paw for M. Benes, who was in so violent a hurry to make his separate arrangement with Russia. Possibly his hesitation to make his breach with Poland complete by recognizing the Lublin government is the cause of his being so roughly called to order. He must be wondering now whether he may not have made a mistake after all. Small nations had better hang

WORDS OF PEACE

No. 109

Though the Peace Treaties were signed, and a League of Nations was set up to keep the peace, some of the nations never abandoned their war-time mentality. The first reaction to any calamity is to create an intense desire to prevent its repetition, and to concentrate all thought and energy on that particular kind of disaster to the exclusion of all other possible or probable mishaps. The danger of that state of mind is that it is apt to be neurotic and unbalanced and that its energies are misdirected. It is haunted with the spectre of symptoms and secondary causes, and not with the root causes of the evil.

—David Lloyd George in "Reparations and War Debts."

C.O. BUILDERS "EXCUSED"

The Ministry of Labour decided some time ago that certain skilled building trade workers might volunteer for bomb-damage repair work in London despite Tribunal conditions to the contrary. The Ministry would regard such volunteers as having, for the time being, "reasonable excuse" for non-compliance with their conditions.

The workers concerned are plasterers, tilers, carpenters and joiners, bricklayers, plasterers, painters, plumbers, glaziers and tile and slate makers. The procedure only applies when workers of these kinds can be temporarily released from their present employment.

"THERE ONLY"

An unfortunate misprint occurred in the quotation from Max Plowman's letters at the end of the editorial in our issue of Dec. 15. The passage should have read:

"And only as we see persons and things in their eternity—in their essential being—do we see them truly, and when we do, joy is spontaneous, a joy which none and nothing can take away. There human beings are one and there only."

The misprint was repeated in the title of the article, which read "These only." It should have been "There only."

AGREEMENT AMID BATTLE

"German medical officers were allowed to enter the US lines to treat German wounded after a small skirmish inside Germany, it can now be revealed."

"An agreement by which the German doctors were allowed to cross no-man's-land unmolested, treat the wounded, and then return to their own lines was reached between the US and German commanders. The wounded remained as prisoners of war in US hands."

—BUP message in Evening News, Jan. 1.

CHEAPER PPU CALENDARS

Some "pacifist quotation" calendars for 1945 published by Peace News at 9d. have not yet been sold, and the price has been reduced to 6d. (post free). They are available from Peace News or from PPU Bookshop.

The PPU Bookshop announce that they are unable to accept any further orders for the volume of Max Plowman's letters at the special price for PPU members.

"MANY ACTS OF KINDNESS"

—says C.O. prisoner

A CO serving with the RAMC, who was dropped in Normandy on D-Day with a paratroop field ambulance, was wounded and taken prisoner five days later by the Germans, in whose hands he remained for 12 weeks, has sent to a well-known member of the Society of Friends an account of his experiences (recently published in the *Hertfordshire Mercury*) from which we take the following:

DURING the whole of the time I was never handled roughly or treated unkindly. There was a period of eight days, while I was at a sanatorium near Evreux, that it appeared as if, being busy, the German medical staff gave priority to their own wounded. At least they had better sleeping conditions than we did, and I believe slightly better food, though we had enough.

At the battery dressing station, where I was first treated, I had every consideration, and the medical sergeant would let no one near me in case they hurt me. At a field hospital a German major came and apologized for the conditions (which were good for a field hospital), and said: "... but you must remember this is only a field hospital." Another doctor said: "I am a doctor; not a soldier." He was very friendly, and gave us the very best treatment he could.

IN PARIS

Later, in Paris, at a large French hospital with German staff, we were treated exactly as German wounded, and we found not the slightest difficulty in being friendly with 95 per cent. of the guards and staff. There were many acts of individual kindness done by our captors outside their normal duties. The German sisters were, practically without exception, kindness itself—I saw their faces sad when our men suffered, and one sister who had lost her mother in an air raid three months before, even cried when one British soldier died.

Many of the German officers spoke fair English, and also some of the NCO's and men, and this assisted in our contact with them, but generally our means of communication was by gestures and a vocabulary of approximately twenty German nouns and verbs, which we managed to pick up. Some of the German officers appeared to refuse to speak English even if they knew it, as did our ward doctor in Paris, but he eventually became friendly and used his English even to the extent of cracking a joke...

I have tried not to overstate the case. It seemed to be plain fact that 90 per cent. of the discomfort we prisoners experienced was brought about by the bombing efforts of our own RAF—shortage of ambulances, shortage of medical supplies, shortage of food, for example.

As regards the attitude of the German soldier to the war, it seemed to me that he was willing to fight as

long as he was told to, but was doing so hopelessly. Some even said they had lost the war. Practically all said "war no good for you or me." It appeared to me that this docility and tendency to submit to regimentation and discipline, without questioning the morality of the order given, made it possible for the masses of German people to be exploited by the Nazi Party. There was only little evidence of the *Herrenvolk* theory, and that came from a few youngsters...

When the American advance neared Paris, the Germans found it impossible to evacuate all the wounded prisoners of war, and so I with others was left behind to be picked up by the American medical men.

ERNEST CHITTY

FOOD NOW - OR ?

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

plies, and Britain, America and Canada control the Combined Boards.

How are food supplies for Britain, America and Canada? 1944 figures, says the British Minister of Food, showed some improvement over 1943 figures: 1943 figures for the United Kingdom were about 3,000 calories daily. France gets less than 2,000, Belgium some 1,600. So Mr. Richard Law of the British Foreign Office has been a month in Washington discussing the possibility of increasing supplies; and a Belgian envoy is now on pilgrimage to Washington on a similar errand. He will say that Belgian imports during German occupation averaged 700,000 tons monthly. In November, under United Nations occupation, the total was 20,000 (including raw materials as well as food).

He will be told, no doubt what the French emissary was told:

"The Administration have refused to allocate a specific number of ships, however, over a long period for this purpose... In the past some of the supplies for the French population have been produced by the United States War Department Civil Affairs Section on the basis of what was necessary to prevent disease and political unrest... no guarantee is given to her (France) that the six million tons of supplies she requested for the first six months of 1945 will be shipped."

Evening Standard, Jan. 15.

Meanwhile "some ships will load in February for the delivery of relief supplies" but "it would be a mistake to assume that the import requirements of the liberated countries will be adequately met by the arrangements now being made."

(Times, Jan. 16.)

Britain's food imports will no doubt continue as before. "Food NOW—or..." But Colonel Llewellyn and his colleagues will pass by this child on the other side of the Channel, and his generation's children will reap the "Future Hate."

The chance that we now have to send food to France through *Ent'aide Française* is literally a chance to show that the official policy of national selfishness and greed is not the policy of the decent British man or woman.

January

peace COMMENTARY

(15 Ormsby Gardens, Greenford: 3d.)

points morals from the Greek tragedy. Iowerth Jones examines the tension between planning and freedom, and J. Allen Skinner pleads for a socialist re-statement.

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by ROY WALKER

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together in dealing with Russia; they may hang separately, it seems, if they do not.

Angels and hostages

CHURCHILL and Eden between them scored a resounding parliamentary victory in the debate on the Greek situation. They had the better case. That does not mean that their case was invulnerable. But the assumption of the Left that EAM—ELAS is a confraternity of progressive angels, representing a nation rightly struggling to be free, was too violently at variance with the known facts of their behaviour to be accepted by any unbiased mind. It was not so much that Churchill and Eden were right, as that their doctrinaire opponents were palpably wrong.

It is lamentable to see how The New Statesman (Jan. 20) continues to give a partisan twist to events in Greece.

"Most important of all, an honest statement should be made about hostages; the possibility is that ELAS has about one-tenth of the number suggested—4,000 may be near the mark—and we are entitled to know how many ELAS hostages the British hold in camps in Egypt and the Middle East. Their long detention is one of the causes of ELAS bitterness, and there may be the basis of a fair exchange."

The plain suggestion is that the British have been guilty of taking hostages in precisely the same fashion as ELAS and subjecting them to the same treatment. If this is so, the New

Statesman should come out with a definite charge. It is a quite novel allegation. To insinuate it obliquely seems to me discreditable.

Warning to UNRRA

IN the course of a cogent article in Picture Post (Jan. 20), Mr. Charles Lindsay, back from Greece, shows how the dilatory introduction of relief exacerbated the tensions which led to civil war. And he quotes the strong words used by Mr. Richard Law to the Montreal Council meeting of UNRRA, which (in view of his status as Minister of State) were quite inadequately reported at the time. Talking of the "fog of unreality" under cover of which UNRRA had fallen back in public esteem, Mr. Law went on:

"I say to you that unless we can sweep it away with the clear wind of reason, and above all with action, it would have been better that this great idea of UNRRA had never been conceived at all."

"Unless we can make a real job of United Nations co-operation, in peace as we have made a real job of it in war, I am quite convinced that, possibly in our own life-time, we shall find the world plunged again into the darkness of war. This work which we are doing here is as important as that, and if we fall down on this work, the consequences will be absolutely incalculable."

It is curious that the emphasized passage is omitted from the full summary of the Conference as released in London at the time. How far even Mr. Law's own Government has moved from words of warning to "the clear wind of action" the French and Belgian missions to Washington are best able to judge.

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